New York Tribune

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FOREIGN RATES

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Supporting the President

The President's appeal to his fellow countrymen to "sustain me with undivided minds" puts The Tribune upon impulse to say why it has supported the Administration, wherein it has, and why it has been guilty of what seems to Mr. Wilson the great sin of being some of the time "anti-Administration."

During the first year of our participation in the war The Tribune was perhaps the Administration's most unsparing critic among newspapers. We published the distressing news of delay and mismanagement and confusion. We did it without the slightest enthusiasm for embarrassing a Democratic government. The conditions we complained of were very bad, but that was not the whole story. Though they had been very much worse we might have felt that publicity would do more harm than good. What had to be overcome was the complacentmindedness of the government. Only publicity could do that, and it had to be hostile publicity, against high odds, for the government was continually saying that the great cause was in efficient hands and moving swiftly. We knew

Many were the journeys we made to Washington to plead for such obvious things as that the industrial side of war should be transferred from the control of bureau chiefs to the hands of the men accustomed to think and deal in magnitudes of production; that a shipbuilder should be called in to build ships; that all raw materials should be put under the arbitrary jurisdiction of a munitions minister, and that the resources of the country should be converted headlong to a programme of force. It was always a in despair and went on with the pub-

opinion. He said The Tribune and Colo- divided mind. nel Roosevelt and other critics were giving aid and comfort to the enemy. From his point of view that may have seemed true. Criticism of our war programme was likely to be appreciated by the enemy, though not because it was criticism, as Mr. Creel supposed, but because the conditions existed. He missed the point entirely.

What we were all complaining of was not so much the conditions as the attitude of the government toward them. What we found at Washington again and again was that the intellectual mind, as it described its own processes, was 'playing over the situation," unable to fix itself in any direction-least of all in the direction of force alone. There is no secret about this. Mr. Baker was very frank in his testimony before the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate. For a long time it had been debated, he said, whether this country's participation in the war should be military or in-

Meanwhile the force of frightfulness

appeared to be winning. In the thirteenth month of our par-"support the President," if that is what lynched by the Committee on Public Infused to take up partisan, political and conomic controversies against the Adin our opinion all quarrels that could is capable of great things. wait should be deferred. For a while, ceased to be a Republican newspaper.

expectancy, as of something that was to go on hoping and talking. There is mental numerals, are to be sewn on colnothing for it but to take it as a big job, I lars to show branch of service. Officers'

needing lots of money and lots of men, caps will carry a broad stripe of color and go through to the end. You will know in a few days. Go home."

Then, on April 6, the President delivered his memorable Baltimore speech, in which, after referring to "this moment of utter disillusionment." he said:

"There is, therefore, but one response possible for us: Force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit."

From that day forward Washington was a different place. Everybody knew it. The physical side of the war began SUBSCRIPTION RATES—By Mail including Postage N THE UNITED STATES OF TRIBE OF GREATER to be handled in a new and aggressive New YORK manner, with an heroic impatience of difficulties and delays. That was enough. Nothing else mattered.

The Tribune's attitude toward the Administration did not change, but the Administration's attitude toward the war changed at that time and under those circumstances.

Another situation has now developed. Some will say, perhaps, that The Tribune has reinstated the right of criticism and is going for the Administration again. Possibly some will believe that the approach of election time has affected us. But every discriminating reader will be aware, on slight reflection, that The Tribune's recent, utterances have been critical, not in the physical or military dimension, as before, but in the dimension of diplomacy, and that what we have been saying recently in criticism of the Administration has nothing to do with the conduct of the war.

In the President's discussion of armistice and peace with Germany we have been unable to support him wholly, because, first, we have felt again the play of that fine and perilous intellectualism which so long baffled headlong participation in the war; and, second, we have not been sure of what was meant to be supported. For nearly a year after we got into it the President was illusioned about Germany. Our authority for that is the President himself. We have feared that he might be illusioned again. He has drawn again, as he did before, a vital distinction between the German rulers and the German people. Even as to the German rulers we have not been abso-

On October 14 he sent his "answer" to Germany's response to the "inquiry" he had made as to the meaning and good faith of the enemy's first proposals. With that answer there went out from Washington an "interpretation," which was that this meant unconditional surrender and that the Hohenzollerns must go. Nearly every newspaper in the country, possibly every one save The Tribune, put great headlines on the news agreeably to that interpretation.

We indicated our reservations. We believed that if the President absolutely meant unconditional surrender he was perfectly competent to say so. We know of no equivalent for unconditional surrender. It is either that or something clse. And as to the Hohenzollerns, we knew that, while the inspired "interpreters" put upon the President's answer the construction best suited to the popular | then to go ahead and do it. mind, no member of the Administration, not even the President himself, could be committed to the proposition that the Hohenzollerns must go. The question was asked at the State Department and at the White House. The answer was fruitless errand. Each time we returned | left to the "inference" of the correspond-

When a matter so important as this We were lynched for it. Mr. Creel may be officially left in the realm of "inhaled us before what he rhetorically ference" it is impossible for The Tribune To the Editor of The Tribune. called the moral firing squad of public to "sustain" the President with an un-

> When the President "sustained" the correspondence with Germany he opened a subject on which discussion cannot be postponed. He will be supported there with the undivided minds of his fellow countrymen, for the conditions of peace which he has laid down, and which he apparently means our allies to accept, may affect us and our children for all time. If they cannot be debated openly the world is not safe for democracy. It is not the fault of Mr. Wilson's countrymen that the conditions of peace, which we must discuss, are so unfortunately bound up with questions of armistice and military expediency, which, perhaps, ought not to be discussed.

> That awkward dilemma might have been avoided by insisting upon unconditional surrender and refusing to talk of peace conditions until afterward.

Spurs for Mercury

If an army sculptor were doing a statue of winged Mercury he would surely add spurs to the equipment of this ranking officer of the Olympian Escaticipation The Tribune's attacks on the drille. Or, rather, he would have until war programme ceased. We began to a few months ago, when American army aviators were expressly excused from it shall be called. Many of our friends the obligation of wearing these essential noticed it and wondered. Some thought | insignia of rank. We invite our readers our policy had changed. Some, perhaps, to smile at this episode, but not too suspected that the experience of being | brashly. They may be in the army themselves any day and faced with the same formation had filled us with a wholesome appalling problems of what and how fear. Many of our Republican friends, and when to wear. In truth, this special were disappointed, and their disappoint- exemption for aviators shows a gigantic ment increased as time after time we re- | growth in the sense of humor appertaining to our War Department. An army board that can see the joke in expecting ministration. We took the ground that | an aviator to clap spurs to an aeroplane

Meantime, the business of changing we believe, it was suspected that we had uniform regulations and remaking the uniform entire still goes on merrily. The explanation of what happened is | From the current Army and Navy Jourboth simple and dramatic. On or about nal we take some radical changes April 1 we made another journey now under consideration at that mysteto Washington. The atmosphere had rious spot which the censor still insists changed. It was vibrant with a certain must be concealed under its official title represented by the initials G. H. Q., A. about to take place in a dynamic man- E. F. So far as we can discover, the imner. We went to our most helpful friend portant practical shift from standing in court, one who knew everything, and collar to turndown collar is the one asked if anything had happened. He change not suggested. Everything else said: "Something is going to happen, would be altered as thoroughly as the The President is in the war. He is in it army imagination could devise. Patches with both fists. He says it is of no use of colored cloth, with embroidered regi-

to show the branch of service. (These changes are evidently suggested by British example.) Also, the whole system and design and placing of officers' insignia and non-commissioned chevrons are radically revised. The blouses are to be lengthened and flared below the waist to admit of roomy pockets. These

changes have yet to pass before the War Department, we understand. Elsewhere in the same Army and Navy Journal is some correspondence bewailing the shifting, conflicting orders respecting overcoats. Camp headquarters have advised the purchase of trench coats. Then, when hard-put lieutenants have dug down into their salaries to comply, the use of trench coats (save as raincoats) has been prohibited. In one camp an officer, returning from overseas, was summoned by the judge advocate and informed that he would be confined to camp if he did not have the officers'

braid sewed on the sleeves of his trench coat. Fortunately the provost marshal of the District of Columbia has seen his duty and done it without flinching. He has issued detailed regulations for his district, so that the war business of the nation shall be hampered by no such horrible blunders as unbuttoned overcoats and shirt collars folded outside the

Evidently there is nothing so complex as uniformity.

blouse collar.

Neighborhood Service

It's a long-distance call that the Council of National Defence makes to the people of the United States when it summons them to get together in neighborhood units to create little autonomous councils, but it is the final connection that will make the national organization effectual and thoroughgoing, from the Washington office down to the last man and woman in the country.

State and county branches we have had since the establishment of the council, but that network of organization was still too wide-meshed to catch up the bulk of the nation's people. By coming down to neighborhoods and communities, however, the council commands the interest and energy of all people, and when that happens functioning on a high per cent

There is room for everybody in the community councils as they are planned. The schoolboy who collects tinfoil for his country, the housewife who can mend or pack a box, the girl with spare hours to address envelopes, the man who can make a speech or take charge of an office during evenings-all these and all others can be made use of by their own neighborhood councils. The councils work through all the accredited war agencies and merely serve as a labor-distributing bureau for their community.

New York is organizing now by this new district plan. Let no district be slow to find out from the headquarters in the Municipal Building just what to do, and

Is it possible that the absence of Colonel House on other business explains the remarkable political document issued from the White House Friday?

Cleveland Letters

Sir: I should be grateful if friends of Mr. Cleveland who possess published ad- Or light, or life, or anything but sle dresses or other critical comment of historical value concerning his policies or character, or letters to or from him, or personal recollections of incidents con nected with his life which would be of in- Seeking and mocking still, unshriven, terest in the preparation of a biography. would communicate as soon as practicable with Mr. William Gorham Rice, of Albany. Any such comment, letters and accounts of incidents will be acknowledged and will be carefully returned if the sender so desires.

It is my hope that Mr. Rice, sided by such material and by his own already existing collection, may feel disposed to undertake a biography of Mr. Cleveland during the ensuing year.

The assembled letters, comment, publications and records now proposed to be brought together will be deposited ultimately in the State Library at Albany for the use of Dr. John H. Finley, who some time ago invited Mr. Rice to collaborate with him, or whoever finally may prepare a definitive and documented biography.

The collection thus deposited will also be of permanent value because of its accessibility to any one who in the future may desire to obtain for historical or other purposes knowledge of Mr. Cleveland's traits and his opinions and administrative record on public questions.

Mr. Rice was a secretary to Governor | Long and Long shall we remember, Cleveland in Albany, and was later, by President Cleveland's appointment, a United States Civil Service Commissioner at Washington, and is now a New York State Civil Service Commissioner. He was associated with Mr. Cleveland from 1882 onward, and

was always an estcemed and devoted friend. Inquiries concerning the requests and suggestions made in this letter may be addressed to Mr. Rice at his residence, 135 Washington Avenue, Albany, or at the Capi-

FRANCES F. CLEVELAND PRESTON. New York, Oct. 23, 1918.

Some Acquire Modesty-

It's a wonder the Kaiser hasn't seized the opportunity to boast that his troops are of the modest, retiring kind!

War Names in the News

Bourgogne boor-gon-y' (last o as in so) . ru-nay (u as in up) Retheltu-tel (u as in up) Maing.....man Sambresan*-br' Sissonne.....sis-sunn Serre....sare Mortiers mor-tee-ay Vervinsvare-van*

A Week of Verse

Exodus

From The Menorah Journal) ATHER the things of your house, Your folk and your bed, You from your night's carouse, O heavy head!

And you from the rack of your toil, Cringing and worn, Wake to the wealth of your spoil, The day's new born.

Futile is Pharaoh's lash, Fallen his gods. Sapling tinsel and trash His thunder rods.

Vain is the chant of the priest, Vain as the wind, For men are leaving the beast Of their making behind

Out to the cleansing sands, Out to the sea, Far to the holy lands, O follow me!

MARTIN FEINSTEIN. With the A. E. F., Somewhere in France.

SOS

From The Saturday Review HELP us, harkening peoples, all; Heed old fearful England's call; For her pampered sons, in hate, Vow the ruin of the State. Workmen will not earn their wage Nor let willing hands engage. Police combine to break the laws, And with rogues make common cause Firemen laugh when houses burn-All would spend where few will carn, While our bravest fall afar, Here, at home, we lose the War. Frenchmen, Belgians! stretch your hand-Drag, us drowning, safe to land. Greeks, and Serbs! oh, lend us aid; For we fail and are afraid. Gompers! Teach us how to work. And to deal with scamps who shirk, Sunk are we in sloth and strife. Shame us into active life-Come, ye kindly Japanese, Raise us, tottering, from our knees. Trotsky, Lenin! Save us, save-Mindful of the help we gave-Three years since we sent you guns; True, you threw them to the Huns. And for lucre did you sell Many a cannon, many a shell-Still, all that shall be forgot, So you pity now our lot. Turks! Forgive us, and forget-Then we'll worship Mahomet-Though we mispronounce his name. We will serve him all the same. Help us, Lord! Though scarce a man Hopes you will-few think you can-For we all, in danger's hour, Pray, in case you have the power

Madeleine

(From Harper's) Y OU were like wind or flame; you could not rest;

Now you lie quietly; now sleep is best. Something you always sought and never found . .

Was it, perhaps, the gray peace of the You could not keep a creed, or bend a knee To any God . . . Now are you wholly

You never loved- You said you did not Life was so strange . . I wonder if

you care For love, at last, and things that love can

Or if, perhaps, the soul of you has gone In flame and foam and quick, keen winds at dawn.

Part of the changeless, changeable unrest! MARJORIE MEEKER.

"On Active Service"

AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE (R. S., August 12, 1918) E IS dead that was alive. How shall friendship understand?

Lavish heart and tireless hand Bidden not to give or strive, Eager brain and questing eye Like a broken lens laid by. He, with so much left to do.

Such a gallant race to run, What concern had he with you, Silent Keeper of things done !

Tell us not that, wise and young, Elsewhere he lives out his plan. Our speech was sweetest to his tongue. And his great gift was to be man,

In our breasts his grave be made. It shall never be December Where so warm a heart is laid, But in our saddest selves a sweet voice

Recalling him, and Spring.
EDITH WHARTON.

The Cataclysm

com The Westminster Gazette) WHEN the great wave disturbs the ocean cold And throws the bottom waters to the

skv. Strange apparitions on the surface lie, Great battered ships, stript of their gloss and gold, And, writhing in their pain, sea-monsters

Who stain the water with a bloody dye, With unaccustomed mouths bellow and cry And vex the waves with struggling fin and

old.

And with these, too, come little trivial things,

Tossed from the deeps by the same casual hand: A faint sea-flower, dragged from the lowest sand, That will not undulate its luminous wings

In the slow tides again, lies dead and swings Along the muddy ripples to the land. EDWARD SHANKS.

THE MONKS—LET US HAVE PEACE



"The devil a monk would be"

The scandal which has now developed is

likely to have a farreaching effect, for it

proves exactly, as Mr. Palmer stated that

the liquor interests of the country and the

pro-German brewing interests have united

in seeking to control the politics of the

country, and at the same time these inter-

ests were in the whole or in part working to

In the meantime what will Congress do

in regard to further investigations as to

the use of brewery and pro-German money

in controlling or influencing newspaper and

what will Congress do in regard to finding

out all of the facts which may now be

hidden away in grand jury reports in

Pittsburgh and Texas and elsewhere as to

the extent to which the brewery interests

sought by big contributions to control elec-

tions, and thus control the country at a

time when these brewery interests were the

chief backers of the German-American

Alliance, which was actively and aggres-

sively seeking to weaken the moral forces

of America as to the war and as to the liquor traffic? Has Congress gone just far

enough to touch the bare edge, and are

there other sinks of infamy to be opened

up? If so, it would be recreant to its re-

sponsibility if it failed to uncover the

entire situation, regardless of who may be

helped or hurt by the exposure, which

some say would startle the country if the

testimony now carefully locked up as to the

contributions of pro-German brewery in-

terests in politics could be brought to

public estimation. It matters not who

will be helped or who will be hurt, nor

whether this party or that party suffers in

public estimation. If there is rottenness

let the sunlight in, for the longer the rot-

tenness is covered up the greater the

Possibly men in both parties will be hit.

public gaze.

the rest of his life.

political activities in this country?

a very large extent in the interests of Ger-

What Will Congress Do?

"My Dear Bob"

From The Manufacturers' Record

Y DEAR BOB," otherwise known | had too much to do with the selection of this city. guished Baltimore political attorney for the United Brewers, has for many years, we understand, been in the receipt of a retainer of \$25,000 to look after the brewery interests of the country in Washington. We have also heard that this chairman, on the ground that it was a declaration of the ground that it was a declaration of the country in the second of annual retainer does not cover important | liberate slap in the face of all the decent items for special cases. It has been said interests in the State of Maryland opposed that "Mr. Crain is a born lobbyist, and has to the liquor traffic. the power of getting in with prominent people and persuading them to think his

The brewers should be ashamed of themselves for paying such a niggardly salary to "My Dear Bob," considering his immense value to their traffic. "My Dear Bob" should demand a good big percentage on all the profits of all the brewery interests kept many. in operation for years by his ability to shape affairs in Washington. The brewers have been robbing "My Dear Bob" of wellearned income many times as great as the beggarly \$25,000 which they have been paying him.

It is probably very true that "My Dear Bob," as he is so lovingly called by Mr. Feigenspan in the letter giving in detail the subscriptions by brewers to the fund which enabled Mr. Brisbane to control "The Washington Times," has indeed a great power to get into close and familiar touch with prominent men. That has been credited to him for a long time.

Touching Brisbane

The facts have been widely published by daily papers and need not be detailed here, but the contributions, running from \$3,000 to \$50,000 each, were made to finance the purchase by Mr. Arthur Brisbane of "The Washington Times," a paper which, like Mr. Brisbane himself, has been notorious for its advocacy of the brewery interests. The list of contributors, as furnished by the chief promoter to Mr. Robert Crain, was given in a letter addressed to 'My Dear Bob."

Though Mr. Crain is a Baltimorean, he has an office in Washington, and we natur- Perchance some of them may be high in ally suppose for the purpose of being in closer touch with Congress. When the Democratic National Convention was held in Baltimore it was generally reported that Mr. Crain was responsible for Baltimore's securing the convention, and many felt then that Mr. Crain's liquor associations | menace to the healthful life of the nation.

Out West, Too (From The St. Louis Post-Dispatch)

Signs about town reminding us that politics is adjourned:

Win the War with Wilson : Vote the Democratic Ticket :

(From The Houston Post)

Willing to Remain Consecrated

(From The Kansas City Star) No doubt it was all right for Mr. Bris-

Brisbane, Pabst und Liebmann

hane to borrow money to buy a newspaper. and no doubt it was all right to borrow it from brewers, and no doubt it was all right for the brewers to be named Pabst and Liebmann and such like, but taken alto-The Republican brethren can't understand such things, but to a Democrat a postmaster's commission imparts a sense of conpaper.

In Flanders Fields

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: I should like to send a word of appreciation of the editorial in The Tribune of Sunday, October 6, entitled "In Flanders Fields," which refers to my brother's poem. It makes little difference where the poem was written, but you may be interested in knowing that it took form during the second battle of Ypres. He was surgeon to a brigade of Canadian artillery dressing dugout was on the back of the bank of the canal and behind it many of the men were buried, so that during seven teen days that they were in action at the one spot the number of crosses just behind them increased in number each day. Some of the words were altered afterward, but

practically the poem took form during the There are two or three minor inaccuracies in the version which you give, and I inclose a correct one. I am sure you will understand that I am not writing in any spirit of criticism, but you may be inter-

ested in having the exact text. THOMAS M'CRAE. Philadelphia, Penn., Oct. 18, 1918.

IN FLANDERS FIELDS

In Flanders fields the poppies blow Between the crosses, row on row, That mark our place; and in the sky The larks, still bravely singing, fly Scarce heard amid the guns below,

We are the Dead. Short days ago We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow, Loved and were loved, and now we lie In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foci To you from failing hands we throw The torch; be yours to hold it high. If ye break faith with us who die

We shall not sleep, though poppies grow

In Flanders fields. JOHN M'CRAE.

The Tribune is very glad to give this authoritative text of Dr. McCrae's poem, which, like every work that has won wide popular appeal, has appeared in a number of varying forms. As a postscript to the details which Dr. Thomas McCrae contributes, our readers will be interested to know that a collection of Dr. John McCrae's poems is soon to be published, with a sketch of

The Grocery Clerk and La Guerre

Montreal.-Ed.]

his life by Sir Andrew MacPhail, of

secration and a yearning to be let alone for (From the Kansas City Times) A Kansas man in France attacked a party of six Huns, bayoneting one and bringing in the rest as prisoners. "The Newton Kansan" says the soldier used to be a grocery clerk, and was accustomed to doing nine of ten things at once.

The Good Old Days (From The Arkensas Gazette)

Only a few years ago every time hor killing time rolled around the farmer sent gether it does look as though Mr. Brisbane his neighbors little gifts of sausage and might have better gone without a news. I ribs worth about \$1,600 per gift in the present market.